

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T STATE 270186

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, FR, UR

SUBJECT: CSCE: FRENCH SUPPORT FOR HELSINKI SUMMIT

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

1. FOR PARIS: I AM CONCERNED OVER THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE FRENCH HAVE GONE, WITHOUT PRIOR INDICATION OF THEIR INTENTIONS IN ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS, BY VIRTUALLY AGREEING TO CSCE SUMMIT IN FRENCH-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE ENDING THE DECEMBER 4-7 BREZHNEV VISIT TO FRANCE.
2. BY SUBSCRIBING TO THE COMMUNIQUE FORMULATION THAT "GOOD PREREQUISITES" HAVE ALREADY BEEN CREATED FOR AN EARLY CSCE CONCLUSION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, FRANCE HAS, IN EFFECT, AGREED TO A HELSINKI SUMMIT, ON WHICH MOSCOW HAS PLACED A VERY HIGH PREMIUM. THE FRENCH HAVE THUS DROPPED THE LONG-STANDING ALLIANCE PRECONDITION THAT SATISFACTORY RESULTS

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MUST BE REALIZED AT GENEVA BEFORE AGREEMENT COULD BE GIVEN

TO ATTENDING A CSCE SUMMIT.

3. MOREOVER, PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING WENT SURPRISINGLY FAR AT HIS DECEMBER 7 PRESS CONFERENCE, WHEN HE SPOKE OF A "COMMON STANDPOINT" AND "COMPLETE HARMONY OF VIEWS" BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND FRANCE ON THE SUMMIT QUESTION. WE

FIND THIS CHARACTERIZATION SURPRISING, SINCE WE CONTINUE TO ENCOUNTER FRENCH RESISTANCE TO JOINING IN COMMON NATO POSITIONS ON THE SUBJECT.

4. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES OR SECRETARY GENERAL DE COURCEL, OR OTHER APPROPRIATELY HIGH OFFICIAL AT QUAI D'ORSAY, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN, NOTING THAT:

A. WE ARE SURPRISED THE GOF HAS EVIDENTLY DROPPED THE LONG-STANDING ALLIANCE PRECONDITION THAT FINAL RESULTS AT GENEVA WOULD DETERMINE THE WESTERN DECISION ON A HELSINKI SUMMIT;

B. FOR OUR PART, WE HAD CONSISTENTLY HONORED THIS PRE-CONDITION--AS RECENTLY AS DURING THE NOVEMBER 23-24 US-USSR SUMMIT MEETING IN VLADIVOSTOK--AND HAD MADE KNOWN TO FRENCH OFFICIALS OUR LACK OF A COMMITMENT TO A CSCE SUMMIT GATHERING;

C. DESPITE CLOSE AND FREQUENT NATO CONSULTATIONS, FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES HAD NOT ALERTED THE ALLIES THAT PARIS WAS PREPARED TO GO AS FAR ON A CSCE SUMMIT AS IT DID DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT;

D. IN FACT, DURING DECEMBER 3 NAC CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIED CSCE DELEGATES PRESENT (USNATO 6754), FRANCE JOINED THOSE ALLIES WHO "SAW NO REPEAT NO NEED TO HURRY MATTERS".

E. WE BELIEVE FRENCH ACTION AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME MIGHT COMPLICATE EFFORTS OF ALLIED DELEGATIONS AT GENEVA TO REACH FINAL COMPROMISE, SINCE IT MAY LEAD TO STIFFENING OF SOVIET POSITIONS ON REMAINING ISSUES;

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F. WE WOULD APPRECIATE HEARING FRENCH REASONING BEHIND AGREEMENT TO SUCH FORTHCOMING LANGUAGE IN THE COMMUNIQUE WITH BREZHNEV ON THE EVE OF THE NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING THIS WEEK AT BRUSSELS, WHERE THE PRECISE SUBJECT OF A CSCE SUMMIT WILL BE A MAJOR TOPIC OF FORMAL ALLIED DISCUSSIONS.

5. INFORMATION ADDRESSEES SHOULD DRAW ON THE ABOVE POINTS IN
DISCUSSING CSCE WITH ALLIES, BUT SHOULD NOT RPT NOT UNDER-
TAKE FORMAL DEMARCHES IN FOREIGN MINISTRIES OF HOST
COUNTRIES. KISSINGER

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